

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 037366

11

ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /011 R

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:RFICHTE

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:GTWOHIE

----- 095034

O 021031Z MAR 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 037366

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT BONN INFO LONDON PARIS BERLIN MOSCOW NATO
WELLINGTON FROM SECSTATE 25 FEBRUARY REPEATED

QTE S E C R E T STATE 037366

EXDIS, TOSEC 26, TODEP 14, ZFF WELINGTON/LONDON ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, WB

SUBJ: SOVIET PRESENTATION TO ACTING SECRETARY ON
BERLIN

REF: STATE 36043

SUMMARY. IN ADDITION TO AN ORAL STATEMENT ON BERLIN,
SOVIET CHARGE VORONTSOV READ A CONFIDENTIAL "NON-PAPER"
TO THE ACTING SECRETARY ON FEBRUARY 22, STATING MOSCOW'S
WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS
TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE BERLIN AGREEMENT.
VORONTSOV SUGGESTED THAT PRIOR INFORMAL CONTACTS BE
ESTABLISHED TO INSURE THAT THESE CONSULTATIONS SUCCEED,
BUT THOUGHT THE PROBLEM COULD BE HANDLED SOMEWHAT MORE
SIMPLY IF THE WEST SIMPLY LEANED ON THE FRG TO ABANDON
ITS PLANS TO SET UP AN ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY IN BERLIN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 037366

THE ACTING SECRETARY EXPLAINED WHY SETTING UP THAT

AGENCY WAS FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT, BUT DEFERRED A REPLY TO THE SOVIET SUGGESTION FOR FUTURE CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIET CHARGE VORONTSOV CALLED ON THE ACTING SECRETARY FEBRUARY 22 TO DELIVER "ORAL STATEMENT" ON BERLIN (TEXT IN REFTEL). AFTER READING STATEMENT, VORONTSOV PRODUCED AND READ (BUT DID NOT LEAVE) FURTHER "NON-PAPER" WHICH

HE SAID REPRESENTED MOSCOW'S INFORMAL RESPONSE TO RUSH-DOBRYNIN CONVERSATION OF JANUARY 25, (STATE'S 18398). THE TEXT OF THIS NON-PAPER AS CONSTRUCTED FROM NOTES AND FOLLOWING PHONE CALL TO VORONTSOV READS: "MOSCOW HAS CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING CONSULTATIONS ON WEST BERLIN TO EXTINGUISH THE PROBLEM WHICH EMERGES AS A RESULT OF UNCEASING ATTEMPTS BY THE FRG TO INTERPRET AT RANDOM THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT AND TO USE IT FOR PURSUING ITS PREVIOUS COURSE IN WEST BERLIN, WHICH REPEATEDLY RESULTED IN THE PAST IN AGGRAVATING THE SITUATION IN THIS AREA.

"IN PRINCIPLE, WE, OF COURSE, DO NOT HAVE OBJECTIONS TO SUCH CONSULTATIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, TO INSURE THEIR SUCCESS, TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE FOUR POWERS POSSESS THE NECESSARY MEANS TO SOLVE, IN COOPERATION BETWEEN THEMSELVES, THE EMERGING DISPUTES AND, ON THE BASIS OF THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT, TO ENSURE THE MAINTENANCE OF A NORMAL AND CALM SITUATION IN CONNECTION WITH WEST BERLIN. OTHERWISE, SUCH CONSULTATIONS WOULD HARDLY HAVE ANY SENSE, SINCE OBJECTIVELY THEY WOULD ONLY DISCREDIT BOTH THE MECHANISM OF CONSULTATIONS AND TO SOME EXTENT THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT ITSELF.

"IT SEEMS TO US THAT A WAY OUT OF THE SITUATION WHICH HAS ARISEN CAN BE FOUND. ALL THAT IS NECESSARY IS FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO DROP ITS CLAIM REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICE IN WEST BERLIN. THEN THE REASONS PROMPTING THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 037366

STEPS ON THE TRANSPORTATION ROUTE WOULD DISAPPEAR.

"THE DECISION OF THE FOUR POWERS IN THIS RESPECT SHOULD SATISFY THE WEST GERMAN SIDE AS WELL. IN ANY CASE, IT WOULD CONSIDERABLY PROTECT THE FRG FROM ATTACKS ON ITS POSITION, FOR ITS GOVERNMENT CANNOT DEMAND TO TAKE ACTION IN WEST BERLIN CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF THE POWERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT.

SUCH A DECISION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FOR THE GDR AS WELL AND WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE ATTITUDE OF THE US SIDE REGARDING THESE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH ARE, OF COURSE, OF A CONFIDENTIAL CHARACTER.- (TEXT APPEARS TO BE VERY ROUGH TRANSLATION FROM THE RUSSIAN.)

2. AFTER READING NON-PAPER, VORONTSOV STRESSED CONFIDENTIAL CHARACTER AND SPECIFIED TEXT WAS NOT BEING SHOWN TO BRITISH OR FRENCH, BUT SAID EGON BAHR HAD BEEN INFORMED

OF ITS CONTENTS IN GENERAL TERMS.

3. THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME MISUNDERSTANDING ON JANUARY 25. HE HAD NOT PROPOSED CONSULTATIONS BUT HAD MERELY EXPLAINED THE TERMS OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. PERHAPS THIS EXPLANATION DESERVED RESTATEMENT. IF ANY OF THE FOUR SIGNATORIES TO THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT DISAGREED ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC SECTION OR ARTICLE, THAT PARTY COULD ASK FOR CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE FINAL QUADRIpartite PROTOCOL. THE SOVIETS CLEARLY HAD THIS OPTION. WHAT WAS NOT POSSIBLE WAS FOR ANY PARTY TO INTERFERE WITH TRAVEL TO AND FROM BERLIN. SUCH ACTION HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITED BY THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT, AND THUS REPRESENTED A TOTALLY ILLEGAL AND UNACCEPTABLE RESPONSE TO EVENTS IN BERLIN.

4. THE ACTING SECRETARY EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE SOVIETS HAD TAKEN THE ABOVE POSITION (PARA 1 ABOVE), REVIEWED THE PIVOTAL ROLE THE BERLIN AGREEMENT HAD PLAYED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE, AND CITED PRESIDENT NIXON'S REMARK THAT THE BERLIN AGREEMENT HAD OPENED THE DOOR FOR HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW. HE DEFENDED THE ESTABLISHMENT

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 037366

OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY AS BEING COMPLETELY IN ACCORD WITH THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE AGENCY WOULD NOT EXERCISE ANY STATE AUTHORITY. IT WOULD ONLY UNDERTAKE STUDIES AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE FRG WHICH THE ALLIES HAD TO APPROVE UNDER ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES. HE RECALLED THAT THE THREE POWERS ALONE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WESTERN SECTORS AND THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE RESPONSIBILITIES, THEY INTEND TO SEE TO IT THAT THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY DOES NOT CONTRAVENE THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT.

5. THE SOVIET CHARGE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT, THE ISSUE COULD BE DECIDED EITHER WAY. THE REAL PROBLEM WAS POLITICAL. VORONTSOV SAID THE SOVIET UNION FELT ITSELF BEING PUSHED TOWARD A MINI-CONFRONTATION

WITH US ON THIS ISSUE. MOSCOW TAKES THE POSITION THAT IT IS ONLY REACTING TO AN FRG INITIATIVE -- A WEST GERMAN TRIAL BALLOON. THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY MIGHT BE SMALL AND PERHAPS RELATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT IN ITSELF. THE AGENCY HAD CERTAINLY BEEN GIVEN AN APPEALING HUMANITARIAN COVER. WHAT BONN WAS DOING, HOWEVER, WAS TESTING A KEY PRINCIPLE OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT; NAMELY, THAT BERLIN WAS NOT A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IF BONN IS ALLOWED TO GET AWAY WITH THIS TEST,

IT WILL TAKE OTHER INITIATIVES--PERHAPS ANOTHER SMALL AGENCY, THEN A LARGER OFFICE AND EVENTUALLY MAYBE THE DEFENSE MINISTRY MIGHT BE SENT TO BERLIN.

6. THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THIS WHOLE LINE OF REASONING WAS UNJUSTIFIABLE. THE THREE POWERS WILL CERTAINLY NOT ALLOW ANY VIOLATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. THE THREE POWERS WILL PREVENT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY OR ANY OTHER OFFICES WHICH WOULD VIOLATE THE PROVISIONS OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT FROM COMING TO BERLIN. THE SOVIET ARGUMENT WAS LIKE SAYING ONE SHOULD NO TAKE A SMALL GLASS OF WINE, BECAUSE ONE MIGHT BECOME AN ALCOHOLIC.

7. VORONTSOV REITERATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT WANT A POLITICAL CONFRONTATION. WHAT IT SOUGHT WAS A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE. IT SAW A MINI-CRISIS COMING,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 037366

AND WAS PREPARED TO DO WHAT IT COULD TO PREVENT IT. IT WISHED TO COOPERATE WITH THE US AND THE UK, FRENCH AND FRG. VORONTSOV THEN RETURNED TO THE IDEA OF CONSULTATIONS, SUGGESTING THAT PERHAPS SOME KIND OF PACKAGE SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND.

8. MR. RUSH SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO REFLECT ON THE SOVIET PRESENTATION BEFORE GIVING ANY FINAL VIEWS. WE UNDERSTOOD THE SOVIET LEGAL POSITION. OUR LEGAL POSITION IS ALSO CLEAR TO MOSCOW. WE HAVE TOLD THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC THAT THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY IS ACCEPTABLE, AND WILL NOT VIOLATE THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES CAN WE ACCEPT THE SOVIET POSITION THAT WHAT IS LEGAL CANNOT BE DONE BECAUSE IT MAY LEAD TO SOMETHING ILLEGAL. IF ONE STARTS FROM THAT ASSUMPTION, THEN THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT SIMPLY CANNOT OPERATE. THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THE SOVIETS COULD HAVE OUR ASSURANCE THAT THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY WILL LEAD TO NO VIOLATIONS.

9. MR. VORONTSOV INTERJECTED THAT MANY IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC DID NO SEE THE SITUATION THIS WAY. HEY CONSIDER THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY A TRIAL BALLOON AND A

MEANS OF DISRUPTING DETENTE.

E E E E E E E

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: WB
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: martinml
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE037366
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:RFICHTE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: SECSTATE WASHDC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740372/aaaacotu.tel
Line Count: 220
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: martinml
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 18 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 APR 2002 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2002 by martinml>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET PRESENTATION TO ACTING
TAGS: PGOV
To: AMMAN
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005